

How the Electoral College Works

- Each political party in each state nominates a slate of candidates for the position of presidential elector. This is most commonly done at the party's congressional-district and state-level convention during the summer of a presidential election year. It is sometimes done in a primary.
- Each political party notifies the state's chief election official of the names of the party's candidate for President and Vice President (nominated at the party's national convention) and the names of the party's candidates for the position of presidential elector.
- Under the "short presidential ballot" (now used in all states), the names of the party's nominee for President and Vice President appear on the ballot that the voter sees on Election Day. The names of the actual presidential electors appear on the ballot in only a few states.
- When a voter casts a vote for a party's presidential and vice-presidential slate on Election Day (the Tuesday after the first Monday in November), that vote is deemed to be a vote for all of that party's candidates for presidential elector.
- Under the "winner-take-all" rule used in 48 states, the presidential-elect candidate who receives the most popular votes statewide are elected. In Maine and Nebraska, the presidential-elect candidate who receives the most popular votes in each congressional district is elected (with the two remaining electors being based on the statewide popular vote).
- Each state's winning presidential electors travel to their State Capitol on the first Monday after the second Wednesday in December to cast their votes for President and Vice President.
- Below is the 1964 Vermont presidential ballot when Vermont voters still had the option of voting for actual presidential and vice-presidential candidates (i.e., the "short presidential ballot") or voting for individual presidential electors.

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTORS

OFFICIAL BALLOT

Town of

WINDSOR

for the

General Election November 3, 1964

Electors of President and Vice-President of the United States

To vote a straight party ticket, make a cross (X) in the square at the head of the party column of your choice.
If you desire to vote for a person whose name is not on the ballot, fill in the name of the candidate of your choice in the blank space provided therefor.

If you do not wish to vote for every person in a party column, make a cross (X) opposite the name of each candidate of your choice; or you may make a cross (X) in the square at the head of the party column of your choice which shall count as a vote for every name in that column, except for any name through which you may draw a line, and except for any name representing a candidate for an office to fill which you have otherwise voted in the manner heretofore prescribed.

REPUBLICAN PARTY		DEMOCRATIC PARTY	
For President		For President	
BARRY M. GOLDWATER of Arizona		LYNDON B. JOHNSON of Texas	
For Vice-President		For Vice-President	
WILLIAM E. MILLER of New York		HUBERT H. HUMPHREY of Minnesota	
<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	
For Electors of President and Vice-President of the United States		For Electors of President and Vice-President of the United States	
Vote for THREE		Vote for THREE	
MABEL STAFFORD, Republican, South Wallingford		MARGARET M. FARMER, Democratic, Burlington	
LEE EMERSON, Republican, Barton		PETER J. HINCKS, Democratic, Middlebury	
OLIN GAY, Republican, Springfield		HAROLD RAYNOLDS, Democratic, Springfield	



From U.S. Constitution

ARTICLE II, SECTION 1, CLAUSE 1

The executive Power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his Office during the Term of four Years, and, together with the Vice President, chosen for the same Term, be elected, as follows

ARTICLE II, SECTION 1, CLAUSE 2

Each State shall appoint, in such Manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a Number of Electors, equal to the whole Number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress: but no Senator or Representative, or Person holding an Office of Trust or Profit under the United States, shall be appointed an Elector.

12TH AMENDMENT (1804)

The Electors shall meet in their respective states, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate;--The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted;--The person having the greatest number of votes for President, shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President, shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

August 1, 2017

History of State Winner-Take-All Laws

- Today, 48 states (all except Maine and Nebraska) have a so-called “winner-take-all” law that awards **all** of a state’s electors to the presidential candidate who gets the most popular votes inside each *separate* state.
- These winner-take-all laws are **state** laws—they are **not** part of the U.S. Constitution. The winner-take-all method of choosing presidential electors was never debated by the 1787 Constitutional Convention or mentioned in the *Federalist Papers*.
- Only three states had winner-take-all laws in the first presidential election in 1789, and all three repealed them by 1800. In 1789, electors were chosen from congressional districts in Massachusetts, from special presidential-electors districts in Virginia, and by counties in Delaware. The Governor and his Council appointed the state’s presidential electors in New Jersey. State legislatures appointed presidential electors in the other states.
- In the nation’s first competitive presidential election in 1796, Jefferson lost the Presidency by three electoral votes because presidential electors were chosen by district in the heavily Jeffersonian states of Virginia and North Carolina, and Jefferson lost one district in each state.
- On January 12, 1800, Thomas Jefferson wrote James Monroe (then governor of Virginia):

“On the subject of an election by a general ticket [winner-take-all], or by districts, ... all agree that an election by districts would be best, if it could be general; but **while 10 states choose either by their legislatures or by a general ticket [winner-take-all], it is folly and worse than folly for the other 6 not to do it.**”
- As a result, Virginia quickly passed a winner-take-all law in time for the 1800 election—thereby assuring Jefferson of **all** the state’s electoral votes.
- Meanwhile, the Federalist majority in the legislature of John Adams’s home state of Massachusetts—alarmed by rising support for Jefferson in the state—repealed the state’s district system—thereby assuring John Adams of all the state’s electoral votes in 1800.
- This triggered a domino effect in which each state’s dominant political party adopted winner-take-all so that it could deliver the maximum number of electoral votes to its party’s nominee. Ten states enacted winner-take-all by 1824 when Missouri Senator Thomas Hart Benton said:

“The general ticket system [winner-take-all], now existing in 10 States was ... not [the offspring] of any disposition to give fair play to the will of the people. **It was adopted by the leading men of those states, to enable them to consolidate the vote of the State.**”
- By 1836, all but one state had enacted laws specifying that their state’s voters would vote for presidential electors on a winner-take-all basis. By 1880, all states were using this system.
- In 1888, incumbent Democratic President Cleveland won the national popular vote, but lost the electoral vote. When Democrats won control of the legislature in the then-regularly-Republican state of Michigan in 1890, they replaced winner-take-all with district election of presidential electors. The Republicans challenged the Democrat’s change. In 1892, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld district elections and ruled in *McPherson v. Blacker*:

“The constitution does not provide that the appointment of electors shall be by popular vote, nor that the electors shall be voted for upon a general ticket [i.e., the winner-take-all rule], nor that the majority of those who exercise the elective franchise can alone choose the electors. ... In short, **the appointment and mode of appointment of electors belong exclusively to the states under the constitution of the United States.**”
- The Republicans restored winner-take-all in Michigan as soon as they regained control of the state legislature.
- Maine adopted district elections for its electors in 1969, and Nebraska did so in 1992.
- Massachusetts has changed its method of appointing electors 11 times.

Various Proposals for Electing the President

- The ***congressional-district approach*** would retain the existing statewide winner-take-all approach for the state's two senatorial electors; however, it would use a district-level winner-take-all rule for electing the state's remaining presidential electors. This method could be implemented either by state law in an individual state or on a nationwide basis by a federal constitutional amendment. Maine has used this approach since 1969 and Nebraska since 1992. It was used in Michigan in the 1892 election and by numerous states in the nation's early years. See section 3.3, 4.2, and 9.23.1 of *Every Vote Equal* book (www.Every-Vote-Equal.com).

- In the ***fractional proportional approach***, a state's electoral votes would be divided proportionally based on the percentage of votes received in the state by each presidential candidate—*carried out to three decimal places*. Because this approach involves fractions of electoral votes, its implementation would require a federal constitutional amendment. This constitutional amendment was sponsored by Massachusetts Senator Henry Cabot Lodge (R) and Texas Representative Ed Gossett (D) and passed the U.S. Senate by a 64–27 margin in February 1950 (but died in the House). It was later championed by Nevada Senator Cannon (D) in the 1969. See discussion at <http://electionlawblog.org/?p=87430> and in section 3.2 and 9.23.2 of *Every Vote Equal* book (www.Every-Vote-Equal.com).

- The ***whole-number proportional approach*** would divide a state's electoral votes to the nearest whole number based on the number of popular votes that a candidate receives in a state. Because this method does not divide electoral votes, it could be implemented by state law in an individual state or, of course, on a nationwide basis by a federal constitutional amendment. The whole-number proportional approach was placed on the ballot by an initiative petition considered by Colorado voters in the November 2004, election (Amendment 36), but was defeated. It has been proposed in various bills in several states over the years without being enacted. See section 4.1 and 9.23.2 of *Every Vote Equal* book (www.Every-Vote-Equal.com).

- An innovative ***modified proportional approach*** was proposed in 2014 by Michigan State Representative Peter Lund (R). Under this approach, the candidate winning the popular vote in Michigan would get at least nine Electoral-College votes (one more than half of Michigan's 16 electoral votes). In addition, the candidate winning the popular vote in Michigan would get one additional electoral vote for every 1.5 percentage points above 50% that the candidate receives. Any remaining electoral votes would go to the second-place finisher. For example, Obama won 54% of Michigan's popular vote in 2012 and therefore won all 16 electoral votes under the prevailing winner-take-all rule. Under Representative Lund's proposal, Obama would have received 11 electoral votes and Mitt Romney would have received five in 2012.

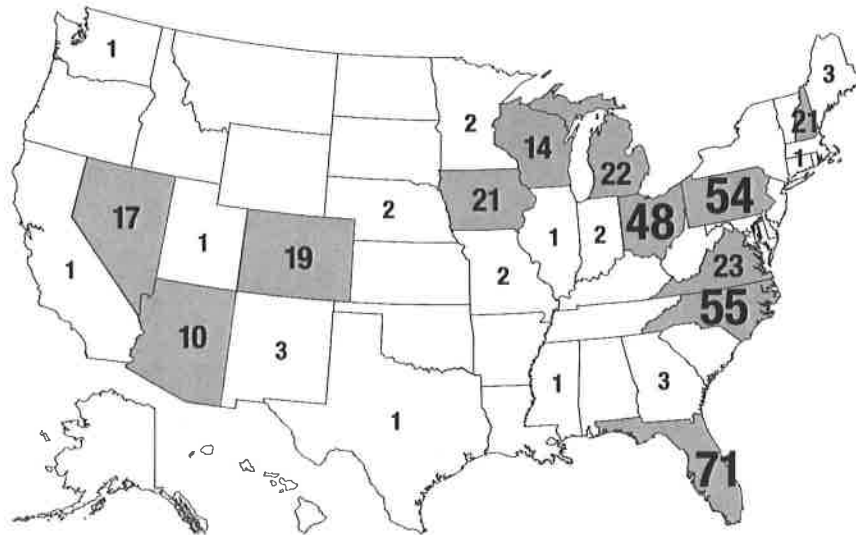
- ***Direct popular election of the President*** could be implemented by a federal constitutional amendment. In 1969, the U.S. House of Representatives approved, by a bipartisan 338–70 vote, a constitutional amendment sponsored by Representative Emmanuel Celler (D), but the proposal died in the Senate. See section 3.4 of *Every Vote Equal* book (www.Every-Vote-Equal.com).

- The ***National Popular Vote interstate compact*** can be enacted by states. It would guarantee the Presidency to the candidate who receives the most popular votes in all 50 states and the District of Columbia. See chapter 6 of *Every Vote Equal* book (www.Every-Vote-Equal.com) for section-by-section explanation. Also, see www.NationalPopularVote.com.

2016 General-Election Campaign Events

The map shows the location of the 399 general-election campaign events by the 2016 presidential and vice-presidential nominees of the two major political parties.

- 94% of the 2016 events (375 of the 399) were in just 12 states. This validates former presidential candidate and Governor Scott Walker's statement:
"The nation as a whole is not going to elect the next president. Twelve states are." (September 2, 2015)
- Two-thirds (273 of 399) of the events were in just 6 states (Florida, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Virginia, and Michigan).
- Over half of the events (57%) were in just 4 states (Florida, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, Ohio).
- 24 states have been totally ignored.



Data was compiled by FairVote. "Campaign events" are defined as *public* events in which a candidate is soliciting the *state's* voters (e.g., rallies, speeches, town hall meetings). This count does not include visiting a state for the sole purpose of conducting a private fund-raising event, participating in a presidential debate or interview in a studio, giving a speech to an organization's national convention, attending a non-campaign event (e.g., the Al Smith Dinner in New York City), or attending a private meeting.

The count of Republican campaign events started on Friday July 22, 2016 (the day after the end of the party's national convention), and the count of Democratic campaign events started on Friday July 29, 2016 (the day after the end of the party's national convention).

Almost All of the 399 General-Election Campaign Events in 2016 Occurred in States Where President Trump's Percentage of the Two-Party Vote Was Between 43% and 51%

The states are listed in order of President Trump's percentage of the two-party 2016 presidential vote—with the most Republican states at the top.

The second column shows the total number of general-election campaign events for each state (out of a nationwide total of 399). The states in bold received a 10 or more campaign events. The other states received only zero, one, two, or three campaign events.

As can be seen, almost all the 2016 general-election campaign events (384 of 399) occurred in states where Trump's percentage of the two-party vote was in the eight-point range between 43% and 51% — that is, “battleground” states.

Trump Percent	Campaign events	State	Trump (R)	Clinton (D)	R-Margin	D-Margin	R-EV	D-EV
68%	0	Wyoming	174,419	55,973	118,446		3	
68%	0	West Virginia	489,371	188,794	300,577		5	
65%	0	Oklahoma	949,136	420,375	528,761		7	
63%	0	North Dakota	216,794	93,758	123,036		3	
63%	0	Kentucky	1,202,971	628,854	574,117		8	
62%	0	Alabama	1,318,255	729,547	588,708		9	
62%	0	South Dakota	227,721	117,458	110,263		3	
61%	0	Tennessee	1,522,925	870,695	652,230		11	
61%	0	Arkansas	684,872	380,494	304,378		6	
59%	0	Idaho	409,055	189,765	219,290		4	
59%	2	Nebraska	495,961	284,494	211,467		5	
58%	0	Louisiana	1,178,638	780,154	398,484		8	
58%	1	Mississippi	700,714	485,131	215,583		6	
56%	2	Indiana	1,557,286	1,033,126	524,160		11	
56%	2	Missouri	1,594,511	1,071,068	523,443		10	
56%	0	Kansas	671,018	427,005	244,013		6	
56%	0	Montana	279,240	177,709	101,531		3	
55%	0	South Carolina	1,155,389	855,373	300,016		9	
52%	1	Texas	4,685,047	3,877,868	807,179		38	
51%	48	Ohio	2,841,006	2,394,169	446,837		18	
51%	0	Alaska	163,387	116,454	46,933		3	
51%	21	Iowa	800,983	653,669	147,314		6	
50%	3	Georgia	2,089,104	1,877,963	211,141		16	
50%	55	North Carolina	2,362,631	2,189,316	173,315		15	
49%	71	Florida	4,617,886	4,504,975	112,911		29	
48%	54	Pennsylvania	2,970,733	2,926,441	44,292		20	
48%	10	Arizona	1,252,401	1,161,167	91,234		11	
47%	22	Michigan	2,279,543	2,268,839	10,704		16	
47%	14	Wisconsin	1,405,284	1,382,536	22,748		10	
46%	21	New Hampshire	345,790	348,526		2,736		4
46%	17	Nevada	512,058	539,260		27,202		6
45%	1	Utah	515,231	310,676	204,555		6	
45%	2	Minnesota	1,323,232	1,367,825		44,593		10
45%	3	Maine	335,593	357,735		22,142	1	3
44%	23	Virginia	1,769,443	1,981,473		212,030		13
43%	19	Colorado	1,202,484	1,338,870		136,386		9
42%	0	Delaware	185,127	235,603		50,476		3
41%	0	New Jersey	1,601,933	2,148,278		546,345		14
41%	1	Connecticut	673,215	897,572		224,357		7
40%	3	New Mexico	319,667	385,234		65,567		5
39%	0	Oregon	782,403	1,002,106		219,703		7
39%	0	Rhode Island	180,543	252,525		71,982		4
38%	1	Illinois	2,146,015	3,090,729		944,714		20
37%	1	Washington	1,221,747	1,742,718		520,971		12
37%	0	New York	2,819,557	4,556,142		1,736,585		29
34%	0	Maryland	943,169	1,677,928		734,759		10
33%	0	Massachusetts	1,090,893	1,995,196		904,303		11
31%	1	California	4,483,814	8,753,792		4,269,978		55
30%	0	Vermont	95,369	178,573		83,204		3
30%	0	Hawaii	128,847	266,891		138,044		4
4%	0	District of Columbia	12,723	282,830		270,107		3
46%	399		62,985,134	65,853,652			305	233

Data from *Leip's Election Almanac*. The number of electoral votes shown in columns 8 and 9 do not reflect “grand-standing” votes cast on December 19, 2016 in the Electoral College by faithless electors from Texas, Colorado, and Washington state. Maine and Nebraska award electoral votes by congressional district. In Maine in 2016, President Trump won one electoral vote by carrying the 2nd congressional district (northern part of the state). August 1, 2017

2016 General-Election Campaign Events



2012 General-Election Campaign Events



2008 General-Election Campaign Events



2008, 2012, and 2016 General-Election Campaign Events

See discussion on back.

Electoral votes	State	2008 events	2012 events	2016 events
9	Alabama			
3	Alaska			
11	Arizona			10
6	Arkansas			
55	California			1
9	Colorado	20	23	19
7	Connecticut			1
3	D.C.	1		
3	Delaware			
29	Florida	46	40	71
16	Georgia			3
4	Hawaii			
4	Idaho			
20	Illinois			1
11	Indiana	9		2
6	Iowa	7	27	21
6	Kansas			
8	Kentucky			
8	Louisiana			
4	Maine	2		3
10	Maryland			
11	Massachusetts			
16	Michigan	10	1	22
10	Minnesota	2	1	2
6	Mississippi			1
10	Missouri	21		2
3	Montana			
5	Nebraska			2
6	Nevada	12	13	17
4	New Hampshire	12	13	21
14	New Jersey			
5	New Mexico	8		3
29	New York			
15	North Carolina	15	3	55
3	North Dakota			
18	Ohio	62	73	48
7	Oklahoma			
7	Oregon			
20	Pennsylvania	40	5	54
4	Rhode Island			
9	South Carolina			
3	South Dakota			
11	Tennessee	1		
38	Texas			1
6	Utah			1
3	Vermont			
13	Virginia	23	36	23
12	Washington			1
5	West Virginia	1		
10	Wisconsin	8	18	14
3	Wyoming			
538	Total	300	253	399

- **In 2008, only 3 of the 13 smallest states** (3 or 4 electoral votes) received any of the 300 general-election campaign events. The closely divided battleground state of New Hampshire received 12 events. Maine (which awards electoral votes by congressional district) received 2 events. The District of Columbia received one event. All the other states in this group were ignored. **The small states are ignored not because they are small, but because (except for New Hampshire), they are one-party states in presidential elections.**

- **In 2008, only 7 of the 25 smallest states** (7 or fewer electoral votes) received any of the general-election campaign events. New Hampshire, Iowa, and Nevada each received a substantial number of events (12, 7, and 12, respectively). New Mexico (a battleground state at the time) received 8 events. West Virginia and the District of Columbia received 1 event each. All the other small states in this group were ignored.

- **In 2012, only 1 of the 13 smallest states** (3 or 4 electoral votes) received any of the 253 general-election campaign events, namely the closely divided battleground state of New Hampshire. All the other states in this group were ignored.

- **In 2012, only 3 of the 25 smallest states** (7 or fewer electoral votes) received any of the general-election campaign events. All the other small states were ignored. The 3 states that received attention were the closely divided battleground states of New Hampshire, Iowa, and Nevada. All the other states in this group were ignored.

- **In 2016, only 2 of the 13 smallest states** (3 or 4 electoral votes) received any of the 399 general-election campaign events. New Hampshire received 21 because it was a closely divided battleground state. Maine (which awards electoral votes by congressional district) received 3 campaign events because its 2nd congressional district was closely divided (and, indeed, Trump carried it). All the other states in this group were ignored. were ignored.

- **In 2016, only 9 of the 25 smallest states** (7 or fewer electoral votes) received any general-election campaign events. New Hampshire, Iowa, and Nevada received attention because they were closely divided battleground states. Maine and Nebraska (which award electoral votes by congressional district) received some attention one of their congressional districts was closely divided. New Mexico received some attention (from the Republican campaign only) because former New Mexico Governor Johnson was running for President and it appeared his strong home-state support might make the state competitive. Utah received some attention from Republicans because the McMullin candidacy might have made the state competitive. Connecticut and Mississippi also received one campaign event. All the other small states in this group were ignored.

Electoral Votes: The states are arranged in order of their number of electoral votes using the distribution of electoral votes used in the 2012 and 2016 elections. In the 2008 election, 18 states had a different number of electoral votes—specifically, Iowa–7, Nevada–5, Utah–5, Louisiana–9, South Carolina–8, Missouri–11, Arizona–10, Massachusetts–12, Washington state 11, New Jersey–15, Georgia–15, Michigan–17, Ohio–20, Illinois–21, Pennsylvania–21, Florida–27, New York–31, and Texas–34.

All of the 253 General-Election Campaign Events in 2012 Occurred in States Where Romney's Percentage of the Two-Party Vote Was Between 45% and 51%

The states are listed below in order of Romney's 2012 percentage—with the most Republican (red) states at the top.

The second column shows the total number of general-election campaign events for each state (out of a nationwide total of 253).

The only states that received any campaign events (second column) and any significant ad money (third column) were the 12 states (shown in black in the middle of the table) where the Romney received between 45% and 51% of the vote—that is, within 3 points of his nationwide percentage of 48%.

The fourth column shows donations from each state.

Romney Percent	Campaign events	TV ad spending	Donations	State	Romney (R)	Obama (D)	R-Margin	D-Margin	R-EV	D-EV
75%	0	\$0	\$11,230,092	Utah	740,600	251,813	488,787		6	
71%	0	\$0	\$2,225,204	Wyoming	170,962	69,286	101,676		3	
67%	0	\$1,300	\$7,129,393	Oklahoma	891,325	443,547	447,778		7	
66%	0	\$290	\$3,586,883	Idaho	420,911	212,787	208,124		4	
64%	0	\$100	\$1,985,666	WV	417,584	238,230	179,354		5	
62%	0	\$0	\$3,296,533	Arkansas	647,744	394,409	253,335		6	
62%	0	\$400	\$6,079,673	Kentucky	1,087,190	679,370	407,820		8	
61%	0	\$80	\$6,736,196	Alabama	1,255,925	795,696	460,229		9	
61%	0	\$0	\$4,796,947	Kansas	692,634	440,726	251,908		6	
61%	0	\$0	\$3,128,691	Nebraska	475,064	302,081	172,983		5	
60%	0	\$346,490	\$844,129	ND	188,320	124,966	63,354		3	
60%	0	\$1,440	\$11,967,542	Tennessee	1,462,330	960,709	501,621		11	
59%	0	\$3,990	\$7,510,687	Louisiana	1,152,262	809,141	343,121		8	
59%	0	\$1,810	\$1,267,192	SD	210,610	145,039	65,571		3	
58%	0	\$2,570	\$64,044,620	Texas	4,569,843	3,308,124	1,261,719		38	
57%	0	\$0	\$2,153,869	Alaska	164,676	122,640	42,036		3	
57%	0	\$0	\$2,295,005	Montana	267,928	201,839	66,089		3	
56%	0	\$0	\$3,525,145	Mississippi	710,746	562,949	147,797		6	
55%	0	\$40,350	\$14,631,204	Arizona	1,233,654	1,025,232	208,422		11	
55%	0	\$300	\$8,210,564	Indiana	1,420,543	1,152,887	267,656		11	
55%	0	\$127,560	\$11,512,255	Missouri	1,482,440	1,223,796	258,644		10	
55%	0	\$710	\$6,686,788	SC	1,071,645	865,941	205,704		9	
54%	0	\$6,020	\$21,906,923	Georgia	2,078,688	1,773,827	304,861		16	
51%	3	\$80,000,000	\$18,658,894	NC	2,270,395	2,178,391	92,004		15	
50%	40	\$175,776,780	\$56,863,167	Florida	4,162,341	4,235,965		73,624		29
48%	73	\$148,000,000	\$20,654,423	Ohio	2,661,407	2,827,621		166,214		18
48%	36	\$127,000,000	\$32,428,002	Virginia	1,822,522	1,971,820		149,298		13
47%	23	\$71,000,000	\$20,695,557	Colorado	1,185,050	1,322,998		137,948		9
47%	27	\$52,194,330	\$4,780,400	Iowa	730,617	822,544		91,927		6
47%	13	\$55,000,000	\$6,717,552	Nevada	463,567	531,373		67,806		6
47%	13	\$34,000,000	\$4,389,577	NH	329,918	369,561		39,643		4
47%	5	\$31,000,000	\$27,661,702	Pennsylvania	2,680,434	2,990,274		309,840		20
47%	18	\$40,000,000	\$10,011,235	Wisconsin	1,410,966	1,620,985		210,019		10
46%	1	\$0	\$11,112,922	Minnesota	1,320,225	1,546,167		225,942		10
45%	1	\$15,186,750	\$19,917,206	Michigan	2,115,256	2,564,569		449,313		16
45%	0	\$1,162,000	\$5,770,738	New Mexico	335,788	415,335		79,547		5
44%	0	\$460	\$10,463,528	Oregon	754,175	970,488		216,313		7
42%	0	\$195,610	\$3,452,126	Maine	292,276	401,306		109,030		4
42%	0	\$0	\$23,600,404	Washington	1,290,670	1,755,396		464,726		12
41%	0	\$330	\$18,644,901	Connecticut	634,892	905,083		270,191		7
41%	0	\$0	\$2,141,203	Delaware	165,484	242,584		77,100		3
41%	0	\$270	\$107,928,359	Illinois	2,135,216	3,019,512		884,296		20
41%	0	\$0	\$24,062,220	New Jersey	1,478,088	2,122,786		644,698		14
38%	0	\$320	\$137,804,736	California	4,839,958	7,854,285		3,014,327		55
38%	0	\$0	\$35,927,766	Mass	1,188,314	1,921,290		732,976		11
37%	0	\$1,120	\$25,579,933	Maryland	971,869	1,677,844		705,975		10
36%	0	\$55,600	\$76,743,682	New York	2,485,432	4,471,871		1,986,439		29
36%	0	\$0	\$2,226,963	Rhode Island	157,204	279,677		122,473		4
32%	0	\$0	\$2,732,572	Vermont	92,698	199,239		106,541		3
28%	0	\$0	\$3,217,863	Hawaii	121,015	306,658		185,643		4
7%	0	\$0	\$16,670,938	DC	21,381	267,070		245,689		3
48.0%	253	\$831,106,980	\$937,609,770	Total	60,930,782	65,897,727			206	332



March 2013

Presidential Pork and the Broken Electoral College

Swing States Favored in the Allocation of Federal Grant Money

Current Electoral College rules have an obvious impact on how presidential candidates campaign. In 2012, more than 99% of general election ad dollars were targeted at voters in only ten states, which were the only states to be visited for post-convention campaign rallies by the major party nominees. Now we have evidence of how the Electoral College affects the way that presidents govern as well.

In his dissertation *The Politics of Federal Grants: Presidential Influence over the Distribution of Federal Funds*, Dr. John Hudak, a Brookings Institution fellow, reported on these findings:

- **Swing states get more:** Overall, controlling for variables such as state size and natural disaster relief funds, presidential election swing states received **7.6% more federal grants** than did safe states, and about **5.7% more grant money** between 1996 and 2008.
- **The swing state edge rises close to elections:** Although all states experienced an increase in grant money in the two years prior to an election, swing states received the most: about **9% more grants** and **7% more grant money** than safe states. Overall, swing states experienced an **11.5% increase in grants** and an **8.2% increase in grant money** in the two years prior to an election compared to the first two years of a presidential term.
- **It's not just about re-election:** The difference in allocation between swing and safe states does not vary between a president's first and second terms. Presidents and their administrations apparently seek to ensure that their successor is of the same political party.
- **What it means for a spectator state:** If Tennessee had been a swing state in 2008, it would have likely received **300 more federal grants in 2007, for a total of \$60 million.**

Federal grants are paid for with tax dollars from Americans in all states. They should be awarded based on need, not as another "campaign resource." We can ask executive leaders to ignore electoral incentives, but it's more prudent to take away those incentives in the first place.

Under the National Popular Vote Interstate Compact, the White House would always go the candidate who wins the most popular vote in all 50 states and the District of Columbia. All votes would be equally meaningful, and states would receive grants based on their needs, not politicians' electoral needs.

- For more on National Popular Vote plan, see <http://www.NationalPopularVote.com>
- For more on Dr. Hudak's work, see: <http://www.Brookings.edu/experts/hudakj>

Small States Are Almost Entirely Ignored in Presidential Elections Under Current State-by-State Winner-Take-All Method of Awarding Electoral Votes

The table below shows the number of general-election campaign events in 2008, 2012, and 2016 in the 13 smallest states (i.e., states with three or four electoral votes). As can be seen, 11 of the 13 smallest states were totally ignored in all three elections. One of the 13 smallest states (New Hampshire) received virtually all of the campaign events, while another (Maine) received five and DC received one.

EV	State	2008 events	2012 events	2016 events	Population
3	Wyoming				568,300
3	D.C.	1			601,723
3	Vermont				630,337
3	North Dakota				675,905
3	Alaska				721,523
3	South Dakota				819,761
3	Delaware				900,877
3	Montana				994,416
4	Rhode Island				1,055,247
4	New Hampshire	12	13	21	1,321,445
4	Maine	2		3	1,333,074
4	Hawaii				1,366,862
4	Idaho				1,573,499
44	Total	15	13	24	12,562,969

The reason why New Hampshire received so much attention is that it is a closely divided battleground state. The Democratic nominee received 55%, 53%, and 50.2% of the two-party vote in 2008, 2012, and 2016, respectively. Thus, both parties campaigned vigorously in New Hampshire because each had something to gain or lose.

Maine received two events in 2008 and three in 2016 because Maine awards electoral votes by congressional district. The Democratic nominee in 2008, 2012, and 2016 easily won the non-competitive 1st district and the state as a whole. However, in 2008 and 2016, Maine's 2nd district was closely divided. Indeed, Trump won Maine's 2nd district in 2016 and thereby won one electoral vote from Maine.

The 12 small non-battleground states (all except New Hampshire) have a combined population of a little more than 11 million. Coincidentally, Ohio has almost the same population as these 12 small states. Because of the bonus of two electoral votes that every state receives, the 12 small non-battleground states have 40 electoral votes, whereas Ohio has less than half as many electoral votes (20 in 2008, and 18 after the 2010 census). However, Ohio's 11 million people received 183 campaign events out of a total of 952 events in 2008, 2012, and 2016 — almost 20% of the national total.

In short, political power under the current state-by-state winner-take-all method of awarding electoral votes does not arise from the number of electoral votes that a state possesses, but, instead, from whether the state is a closely divided battleground state.

The same pattern emerges if we expand the discussion to the 25 smallest states (i.e., states with three to seven electoral votes). As can be seen from the table, 8 of the 25 smallest states were totally ignored in all three elections. Only three of these 25 states (New Hampshire, Nevada, and Iowa) received attention in all three years, and these three states received 87% of the campaign events (143 out of 165).

EV	State	2008 events	2012 events	2016 events	Population
3	Wyoming				568,300
3	D.C.	1			601,723
3	Vermont				630,337
3	North Dakota				675,905
3	Alaska				721,523
3	South Dakota				819,761
3	Delaware				900,877
3	Montana				994,416
4	Rhode Island				1,055,247
4	New Hampshire	12	13	21	1,321,445
4	Maine	2		3	1,333,074
4	Hawaii				1,366,862
4	Idaho				1,573,499
5	Nebraska			2	1,831,825
5	West Virginia	1			1,859,815
5	New Mexico	8		3	2,067,273
6	Nevada	12	13	17	2,709,432
6	Utah			1	2,770,765
6	Kansas				2,863,813
6	Arkansas				2,926,229
6	Mississippi			1	2,978,240
6	Iowa	7	27	21	3,053,787
7	Connecticut			1	3,581,628
7	Oklahoma				3,764,882
7	Oregon				3,848,606
116	Total	42	53	70	46,819,264

August 4, 2018

The 50 Biggest Cities Constitute 15% of the U.S. Population of 309,000,000

Rank	City	2010 Population
1	New York	8,175,133
2	Los Angeles	3,792,621
3	Chicago	2,695,598
4	Houston	2,099,451
5	Philadelphia	1,526,006
6	Phoenix	1,445,632
7	San Antonio	1,327,407
8	San Diego	1,307,402
9	Dallas	1,197,816
10	San Jose	945,942
11	Jacksonville	821,784
12	Indianapolis	820,445
13	Austin	790,390
14	San Francisco	805,235
15	Columbus	787,033
16	Fort Worth	741,206
17	Charlotte	731,424
18	Detroit	713,777
19	El Paso	649,121
20	Memphis	646,889
21	Boston	617,594
22	Seattle	608,660
23	Denver	600,158
24	Baltimore	620,961
25	Washington	601,723
26	Nashville	601,222
27	Louisville	597,337
28	Milwaukee	594,833
29	Portland	583,776
30	Oklahoma City	579,999
31	Las Vegas	583,756
32	Albuquerque	545,852
33	Tucson	520,116
34	Fresno	494,665
35	Sacramento	466,488
36	Long Beach	462,257
37	Kansas City	459,787
38	Mesa	439,041
39	Virginia Beach	437,994
40	Atlanta	420,003
41	Colorado Springs	416,427
42	Raleigh	403,892
43	Omaha	408,958
44	Miami	399,457
45	Tulsa	391,906
46	Oakland	390,724
47	Cleveland	396,815
48	Minneapolis	382,578
49	Wichita	382,368
50	Arlington, Texas	365,438
Total	50 biggest cities	46,795,097

August 1, 2017

Rural States are Disadvantaged under the Current State-By-State Winner-Take-All Method of Awarding Electoral Votes

Because rural states are generally not battleground states, the current state-by-state winner-take-all method of awarding electoral votes diminishes the influence of rural states.

Political influence in the Electoral College is based on whether the state is a closely divided battleground state. The current state-by-state winner-take-all method of awarding electoral votes does not enhance the influence of rural states, because most rural states are not battleground states.

The 10 most rural states are:

- Vermont (60.61% rural),
- Maine (57.86% rural),
- West Virginia (53.75% rural),
- Mississippi (50.20% rural),
- South Dakota (47.14% rural),
- Arkansas (46.10% rural),
- Montana (44.69% rural),
- North Dakota (44.68% rural),
- Alabama (43.74% rural), and
- Kentucky (43.13% rural).

None of the 10 most rural states is a closely divided battleground state.

The table on the next page provides information on all the states. Column 2 shows, for each state, the rural population (using the definition found in the 2000 *Statistical Abstract of the United States*). Column 3 shows the state's total population. Column 4 shows the rural percentage (column 2 divided by column 3). Column 5 shows the rural "index" (obtained by dividing the state's rural percentage by the overall national rural percentage of 20.11%). An index above 100 indicates that the state is more rural than the nation as a whole, whereas an index below 100 indicates that the state is less rural. Thirty-three states have an index above 100 (meaning that more than 20.11% of their population is rural), whereas 18 states have an index below 100 (that is, they are less rural than the nation as a whole).

Rural population of the states

State	Rural population	Total population	Rural percent	Rural index
Vermont	376,379	621,000	60.61%	301
Maine	762,045	1,317,000	57.86%	288
West Virginia	975,564	1,815,000	53.75%	267
Mississippi	1,457,307	2,903,000	50.20%	250
South Dakota	363,417	771,000	47.14%	234
Arkansas	1,269,221	2,753,000	46.10%	229
Montana	414,317	927,000	44.69%	222
North Dakota	283,242	634,000	44.68%	222
Alabama	1,981,427	4,530,000	43.74%	218
Kentucky	1,787,969	4,146,000	43.13%	214
New Hampshire	503,451	1,300,000	38.73%	193
Iowa	1,138,892	2,954,000	38.55%	192
South Carolina	1,584,888	4,198,000	37.75%	188
North Carolina	3,199,831	8,541,000	37.46%	186
Tennessee	2,069,265	5,901,000	35.07%	174
Wyoming	172,438	507,000	34.01%	169
Oklahoma	1,196,091	3,524,000	33.94%	169
Alaska	215,675	655,000	32.93%	164
Idaho	434,456	1,393,000	31.19%	155
Wisconsin	1,700,032	5,509,000	30.86%	153
Missouri	1,711,769	5,755,000	29.74%	148
Nebraska	517,538	1,747,000	29.62%	147
Indiana	1,776,474	6,238,000	28.48%	142
Kansas	767,749	2,736,000	28.06%	140
Minnesota	1,429,420	5,101,000	28.02%	139
Louisiana	1,223,311	4,516,000	27.09%	135
Georgia	2,322,290	8,829,000	26.30%	131
Virginia	1,908,560	7,460,000	25.58%	127
Michigan	2,518,987	10,113,000	24.91%	124
New Mexico	455,545	1,903,000	23.94%	119
Pennsylvania	2,816,953	12,406,000	22.71%	113
Ohio	2,570,811	11,459,000	22.43%	112
Oregon	727,255	3,595,000	20.23%	101
Delaware	155,842	830,000	18.78%	93
Washington	1,063,015	6,204,000	17.13%	85
Texas	3,647,539	22,490,000	16.22%	81
Colorado	668,076	4,601,000	14.52%	72
Maryland	737,818	5,558,000	13.27%	66
New York	2,373,875	19,227,000	12.35%	61
Connecticut	417,506	3,504,000	11.92%	59
Illinois	1,509,773	12,714,000	11.87%	59
Utah	262,825	2,389,000	11.00%	55
Arizona	607,097	5,744,000	10.57%	53
Florida	1,712,358	17,397,000	9.84%	49
Rhode Island	95,173	1,081,000	8.80%	44
Massachusetts	547,730	6,417,000	8.54%	42
Hawaii	103,312	1,263,000	8.18%	41
Nevada	169,611	2,335,000	7.26%	36
New Jersey	475,263	8,699,000	5.46%	27
California	1,881,985	35,894,000	5.24%	26
D.C.	0	554,000	0.00%	0
Total	59,061,367	293,658,000	20.11%	100

January 7, 2018

Big Cities, Rural Areas, and Suburbs

- The biggest 100 cities contained just one-sixth of the U.S. population, and they voted 63% Democratic in 2004.
- The rural areas (i.e., places outside the nation's Metropolitan Statistical Areas) contained one-sixth of the U.S. population, and they voted 60% Republican in 2004. That is, the biggest cities are almost exactly balanced out by rural areas in terms of population and partisan composition.
- The remaining two thirds of the U.S. population live inside a Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA), but outside the central city. These suburban areas are evenly divided politically.

January 2, 2018

National Popular Election of the President
National Popular Vote!
www.NationalPopularVote.com

How Nationwide Presidential Campaigns Would Be Run

January 7, 2017

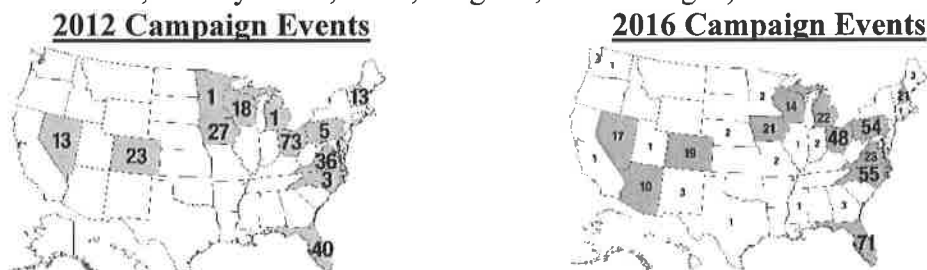
The shortcomings of the current system of electing the President stem from *state* winner-take-all laws (i.e., laws in 48 states that award all of a state's electoral votes to the candidate receiving the most popular votes in each *separate* state). Because of winner-take-all, presidential candidates have no reason to solicit votes in states where the statewide outcome is a foregone conclusion. Instead, they only campaign in closely divided battleground states.

As Governor Scott Walker said while running for President in 2015:

"The nation as a whole is not going to elect the next president. Twelve states are."

In 2012, 100% of the general-election campaign events (and virtually all campaign expenditures) were concentrated in the 12 states where the statewide outcome was between 45% and 51% Republican (that is, within $\pm 3\%$ of the eventual national outcome of 48%). Two-thirds of the events (176 of 253) were concentrated in just 4 states (Ohio, Florida, Virginia, and Iowa). Thirty-eight states were ignored because one candidate was safely ahead.

In 2016, 94% of the campaign events (375 of the 399) were in the 12 states where the outcome was between 43% and 51% Republican. Two-thirds of the events (273 of 399) were in just 6 states (Florida, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Virginia, and Michigan).



The maps above (and the charts at the end of this letter) also show that presidential candidates ignored 12 of the 13 least populous states, the 10 most rural states, and most Western states.

National Popular Vote Would Make Every Voter in Every State Matter

The National Popular Vote bill would guarantee the Presidency to the candidate who receives the most popular votes in all 50 states and the District of Columbia.

It would make *every* voter in *every* state equally important in *every* presidential election.

Some people have wondered whether candidates might concentrate on big cities or ignore rural areas in an election in which the winner is the candidate receiving the most popular votes.

If there were any such tendency, it would be evident from the way real-world presidential candidates campaign today *inside* battleground states. Every battleground state contains big cities and rural areas. Presidential candidates—advised by the country's most astute political strategists—necessarily allocate their candidate's limited time and money between different parts of battleground states. The facts are that, inside battleground states, candidates campaign everywhere—big cities, medium-sized cities, and rural areas. Far from concentrating on big cities or ignoring rural areas, they hew very closely to population in allocating campaign events.

Let's start by looking at the battleground state of Ohio—the state that received the biggest share (73 of 253) of the entire nation's campaign events in 2012.

- Ohio's 4 biggest metropolitan statistical areas (Columbus, Cleveland, Cincinnati, and Toledo.) are counties that have 54% of the state's population.
- Ohio's 7 medium-sized MSAs (Akron, Canton, Dayton, Lima, Mansfield, Springfield, and Youngstown) are counties that have 24% of the population.
- Ohio's 53 remaining counties (that is, the rural counties outside the 11 MSAs) have 22% of the state's population.

As can be seen from the table below, candidates campaigned everywhere—big cities, medium-sized cities, and rural areas. There is no evidence that they disproportionately favored big cities or ignored rural areas. They hewed very closely to population in allocating campaign events (indeed, with almost surgical precision).

Distribution of Ohio's 73 Campaign Events in 2012

	Percent of Ohio's population	Percent of campaign events
4 biggest MSAs	54%	52%
7 medium-sized MSAs	24%	23%
53 remaining counties (rural)	22%	25%

Not only is there no evidence that presidential candidates disproportionately ignored rural areas or concentrated on big cities, *it would have been preposterous for them to do so*. There is nothing special about a city vote compared to a rural vote in an election in which every vote is equal and in which the winner is the candidate receiving the most popular votes.

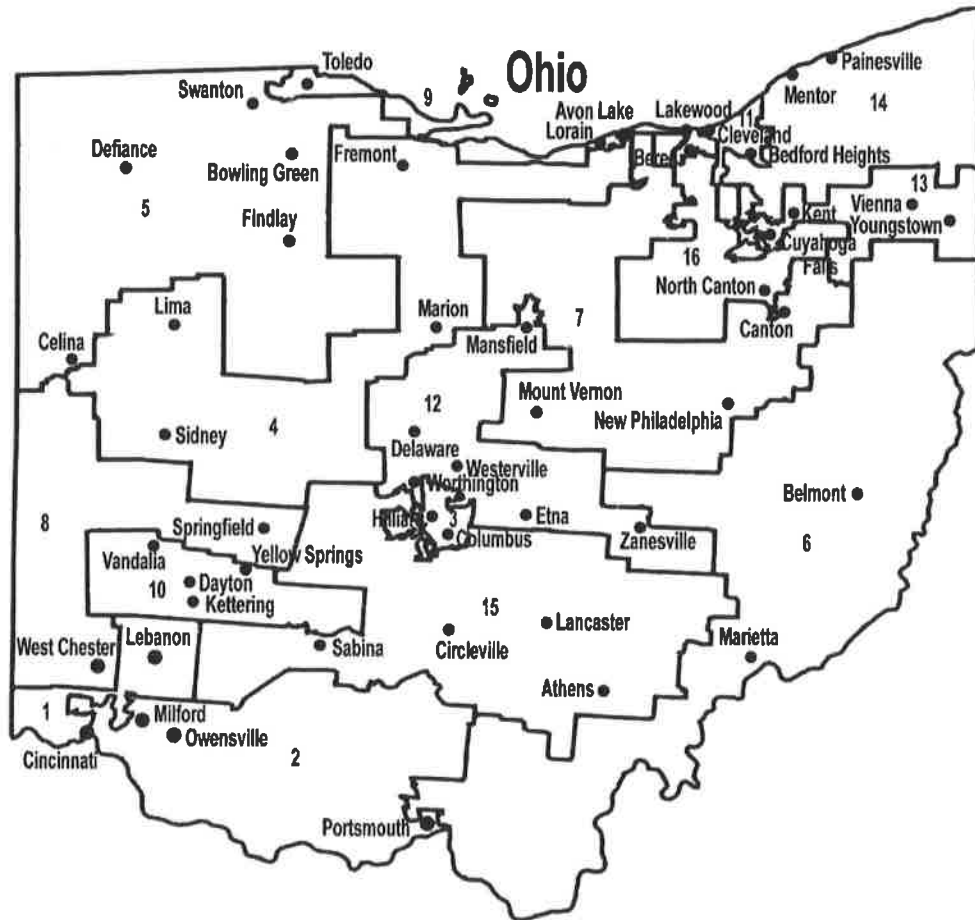
The conclusion that candidates campaign everywhere—big cities, medium-sized cities, and rural areas—is reinforced by looking at the *actual* places where candidates held campaign events.

Location of Presidential Campaign Events in Ohio in 2012

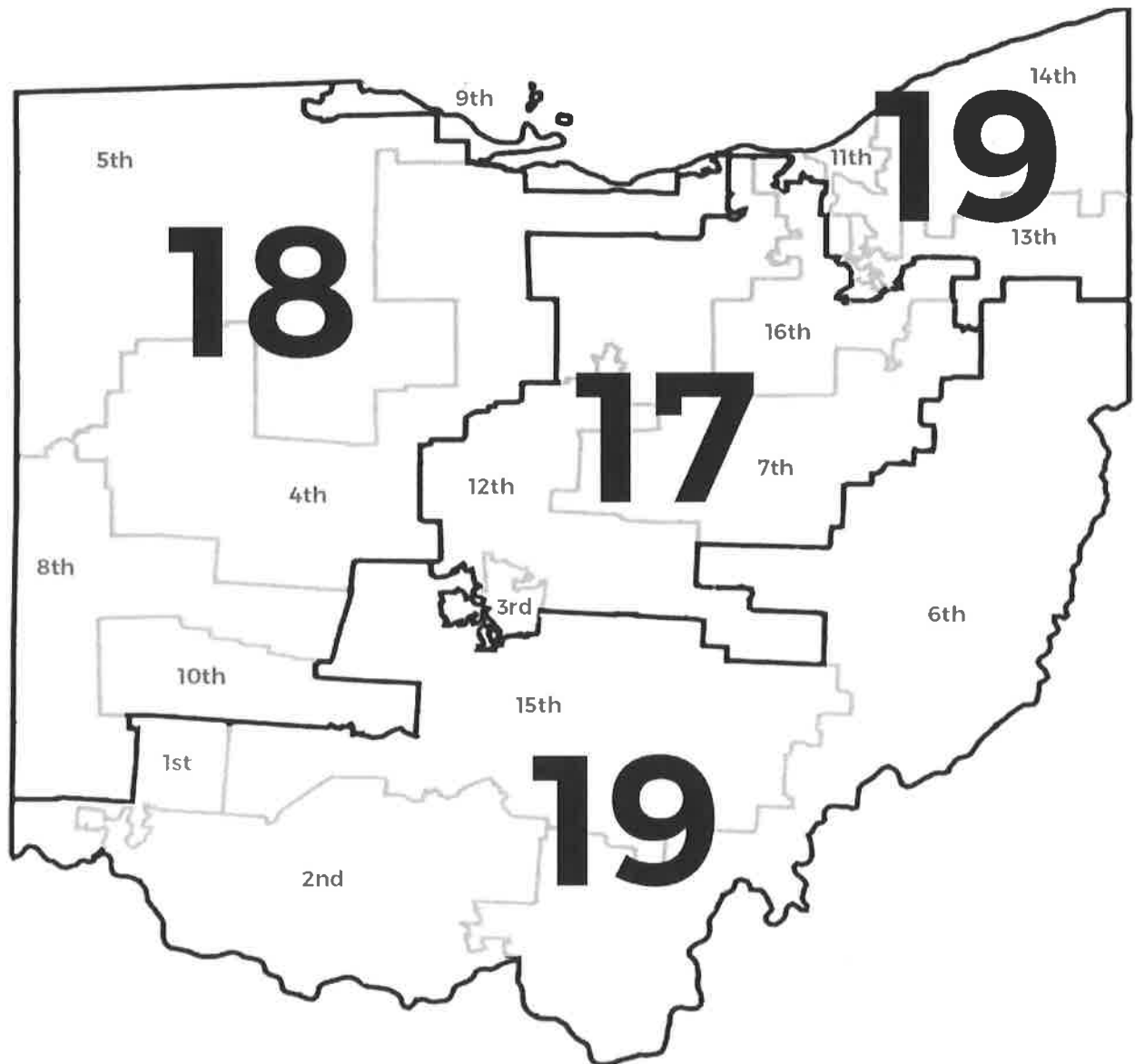
Place	Population	Candidate and date of campaign event	County	CD
Belmont	447	Ryan (10/20)	Belmont	6
Owensville	794	Ryan (9/12)	Clermont	2
Sabina	2,548	Ryan (10/27)	Clinton	15
Yellow Springs	3,526	Ryan (10/27)	Greene	10
Swanton	3,690	Ryan (10/8)	Fulton	5
Vienna	4,021	Ryan (11/5)	Trumbull	13
Milford	6,681	Biden (9/9)	Hamilton	2
Celina	10,395	Romney (10/28)	Mercer	5
Bedford Heights	10,751	Romney (9/26)	Cuyahoga	11
Circleville	13,453	Ryan (10/27)	Pickaway	15
Worthington	13,757	Romney (10/25)	Franklin	12
Marietta	14,027	Ryan (11/3)	Washington	6
Vandalia	15,204	Romney (9/25)	Montgomery	10
Etna	16,373	Romney (11/2)	Licking	12
Fremont	16,564	Biden (11/4)	Sandusky	4
Mount Vernon	16,812	Romney (10/10)	Knox	7
Defiance	16,838	Romney (10/25)	Defiance	5
New Philadelphia	17,292	Ryan (10/27)	Tuscarawas	7
North Canton	17,404	Romney (10/26)	Stark	16
Berea	18,980	Ryan (10/17)	Cuyahoga	9
Painesville	19,634	Romney (9/14)	Lake	14
Portsmouth	20,302	Biden (9/9), Romney (10/13)	Scioto	2
Lebanon	20,387	Romney (10/13)	Warren	1
Sidney	21,031	Romney (10/10)	Shelby	4
Avon Lake	22,816	Romney (10/29)	Lorain	9
Athens	23,755	Obama (10/17), Biden (9/8)	Athens	15
Zanesville	25,411	Biden (9/8), Ryan (10/27)	Muskingum	12
Kent	29,807	Obama (9/26)	Portage	13
Hilliard	30,564	Obama (11/2)	Scioto	15
Bowling Green	31,384	Obama (9/26)	Wood	5
Delaware	35,925	Romney (10/10)	Delaware	12
Marion	36,904	Biden (10/24), Romney (10/28)	Marion	4
Westerville	37,073	Romney (9/26)	Franklin	12
Lima	38,339	Obama (11/2), Ryan (9/24)	Allen	4
Lancaster	38,880	Biden (11/4), Romney (10/12)	Fairfield	15
Findlay	41,526	Romney (10/28)	Hancock	5
Mentor	47,023	Obama (11/3)	Lake	14
Mansfield	47,052	Romney (9/10), Ryan (11/4)	Richland	12
Cuyahoga Falls	49,245	Romney (10/9)	Summit	13
Lakewood	51,385	Biden (11/4)	Cuyahoga	9
Kettering	55,990	Romney (10/30)	Montgomery	10
Springfield	60,147	Obama (11/2)	Clark	8
West Chester	60,958	Romney (11/2)	Butler	8
Lorain	63,707	Biden (10/22)	Lorain	9
Youngstown	65,405	Biden (10/29), Ryan (10/12)	Mahoning	13
Canton	72,683	Biden (10/22)	Stark	7
Dayton	141,359	Obama (10/23), Biden (9/12)	Montgomery	10
Toledo	284,012	Biden (10/23), Romney (9/26)	Lucas	9
Cincinnati	296,550	Obama (9/17, 11/4), Romney (10/25), Ryan (9/25, 10/15)	Hamilton	1
Cleveland	390,928	Obama (10/5, 10/25), Romney (11/4, 11/6), Ryan (10/24)	Cuyahoga	11
Columbus	809,798	Obama (9/17, 10/9, 11/5), Romney (11/5), Ryan (9/29)	Franklin	3

This conclusion is also reinforced if you look at the distribution of campaign events among Ohio's 16 congressional districts. Presidential candidates campaigned in all of the districts, as shown in the map below (and the table above) of the 73 general-election campaign events in 2012.

Presidential Campaign Events by Congressional District in Ohio in 2012



The fact that candidates hew closely to population in allocating campaign events may also be seen by dividing Ohio into four large geographic areas—each containing four of the state's 16 congressional districts (and, therefore, each containing a quarter of the state's population). As can be seen, each of these four geographic areas received almost exactly a quarter of the campaign events. The reason is that when every vote is equal, every vote is equally important.



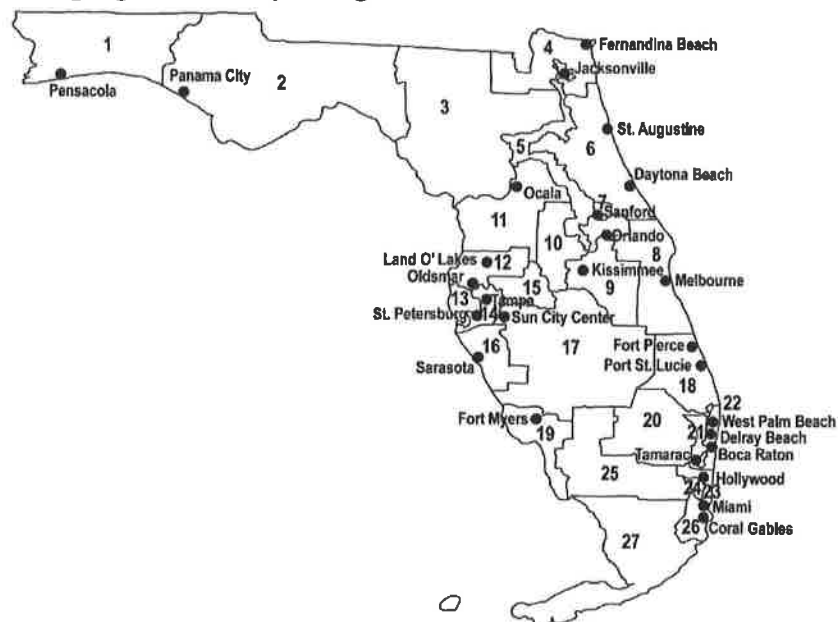
The same pattern of population-based campaigning occurred in other battleground states. Four battleground states (Ohio, Florida, Virginia, and Iowa) accounted for over two-thirds of all campaign events in 2012 (70% of 253).

In Florida (which received 40 campaign events), candidates campaigned throughout the state.

Location of Presidential Campaign Events in Florida in 2012

Place	Population	Candidate and date of campaign event	County	CD
Fernandina Beach	11,705	Ryan (10/29)	Nassau	4
St. Augustine	13,407	Biden (10/20)	St. Johns	6
Oldsmar	13,703	Ryan (9/15)	Pinellas	12
Sun City Center	19,258	Biden (10/19)	Hillsborough	17
Land O' Lakes	31,145	Romney (10/27)	Pasco	12
Panama City	36,167	Ryan (11/3)	Bay	2
Fort Pierce	42,645	Biden (10/19)	St. Lucie	18
Apopka	44,474	Romney (10/6)	Orange	5
Coral Gables	49,411	Obama (10/11), Romney (10/31)	Miami-Dade	26
Pensacola	52,340	Romney (10/27)	Escambia	1
Sarasota	52,811	Biden (10/31), Romney (9/20)	Sarasota	16
Sanford	54,651	Romney (11/5)	Seminole	5
Ocala	56,945	Biden (10/31), Ryan (10/18)	Marion	11
Daytona Beach	62,035	Romney (10/19)	Volusia	6
Delray Beach	62,357	Obama (10/23)	Palm Beach	22
Tamarac	62,557	Biden (9/28)	Broward	20
Kissimmee	63,369	Obama (9/8), Romney (10/27)	Osceola	9
Fort Myers	65,725	Biden (9/29), Ryan (10/18)	Lee	19
Melbourne	77,048	Obama (9/9)	Brevard	8
Boca Raton	87,836	Biden (9/28)	Palm Beach	22
West Palm Beach	101,043	Obama (9/9)	Palm Beach	22
Hollywood	145,236	Obama (11/4)	Broward	23
Port St. Lucie	168,716	Romney (10/7)	St. Lucie	18
St. Petersburg	246,541	Obama (9/8), Romney (10/5)	Pinellas	14
Orlando	249,562	Ryan (9/22)	Orange	7
Tampa	347,645	Obama (10/25), Romney (10/31), Ryan (10/19)	Hillsborough	14
Miami	413,892	Obama (9/20), Romney (9/19 x 2), Ryan (9/22)	Miami-Dade	27
Jacksonville	836,507	Romney (9/12, 10/31)	Duval	5

Presidential Campaign Events by Congressional District in Florida in 2012

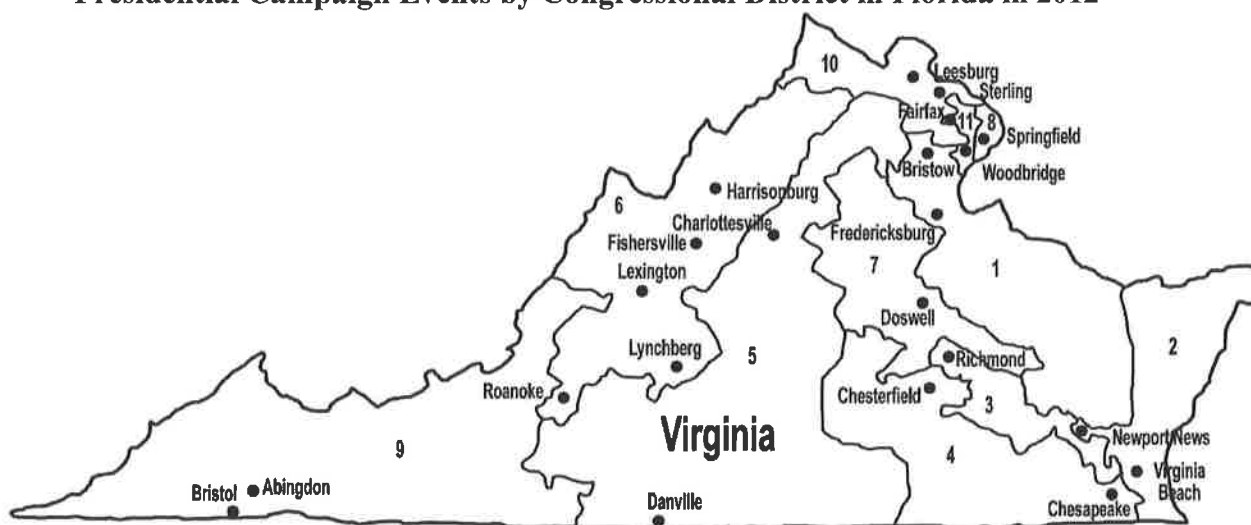


Likewise, presidential candidates campaigned throughout the state in Virginia (which received 36 of the nation's 253 campaign events in 2012).

Location of Presidential Campaign Events in Virginia in 2012

Place	Population	Candidate and date of campaign event	CD
Doswell	2,126	Romney (11/1)	7
Woodbridge	4,055	Obama (9/21)	11
Lexington	6,998	Romney (10/8)	6
Fishersville	7,462	Romney (10/4)	6
Abingdon	8,188	Romney (10/5)	9
Bristow	15,137	Obama (11/3)	1
Bristol	17,662	Ryan (10/25)	9
Fairfax	23,461	Obama (10/5, 10/19), Romney (9/13, 11/5)	11
Fredericksburg	27,307	Ryan (10/16)	1
Sterling	27,822	Biden (11/5)	10
Springfield	30,484	Romney (11/2)	8
Danville	42,996	Ryan (9/19)	5
Charlottesville	43,956	Ryan (10/25)	5
Leesburg	45,936	Romney (10/17)	10
Harrisonburg	50,981	Ryan (9/14)	6
Lynchburg	77,113	Biden (10/27), Romney (11/5), Ryan (10/16)	6
Roanoke	97,469	Romney (11/1)	6
Newport News	180,726	Romney (10/8, 11/4), Ryan (9/18)	2
Richmond	210,309	Obama (10/25), Biden (11/5), Romney (9/8, 10/12), Ryan (11/3, 11/6)	3
Chesapeake	228,417	Romney (10/17)	4
Chesterfield	323,856	Biden (9/25)	4
Virginia Beach	447,021	Obama (9/27), Romney (9/8, 11/1)	2

Presidential Campaign Events by Congressional District in Florida in 2012

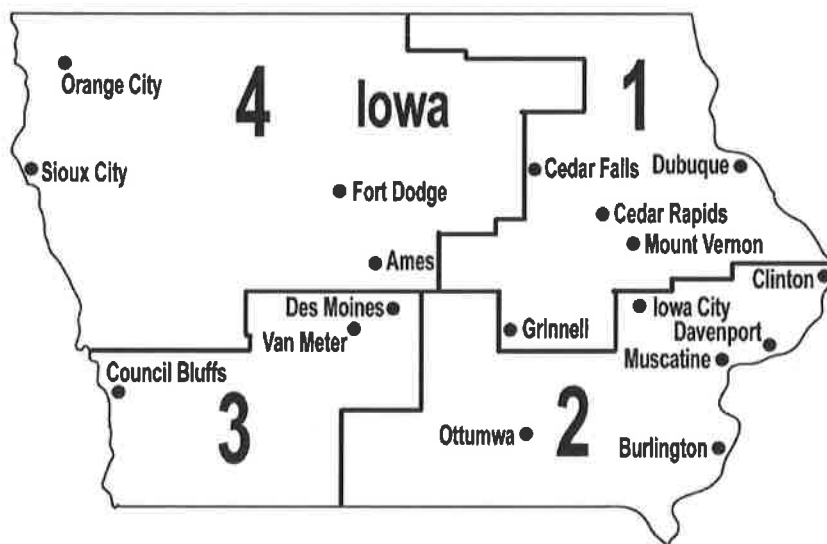


Similarly, presidential candidates campaigned throughout the state in Iowa (which received 27 of the nation's 253 campaign events in 2012).

Location of Presidential Campaign Events in Iowa in 2012

Place	Population	Candidate and date of campaign event	County	CD
Van Meter	1,016	Romney (10/9)	Dallas	3
Mount Vernon	4,506	Obama (10/17)	Linn	1
Orange City	6,004	Romney (9/7)	Sioux	4
Grinnell	9,218	Biden (9/18)	Poweshiek	1
Muscatine	22,886	Biden (11/1), Ryan (10/2)	Muscatine	2
Fort Dodge	25,206	Biden (11/1)	Webster	4
Ottumwa	25,023	Biden (9/18)	Wapello	2
Burlington	25,663	Biden (9/17), Ryan (10/2)	Des Moines	2
Clinton	26,885	Ryan (10/2)	Clinton	2
Cedar Falls	39,260	Ryan (11/2)	Black Hawk	1
Dubuque	57,637	Obama (11/3), Romney (11/3), Ryan (10/1)	Dubuque	1
Ames	58,965	Romney (10/25)	Story	4
Council Bluffs	62,230	Biden (10/4), Ryan (10/21)	Pottawattamie	3
Iowa City	67,862	Obama-Biden (9/7)	Johnson	2
Sioux City	82,684	Ryan (10/21)	Woodbury	4
Davenport	99,685	Obama (10/24), Romney (10/29)	Scott	2
Cedar Rapids	126,326	Romney (10/24)	Linn	1
Des Moines	203,433	Obama (11/5), Romney (11/3), Ryan (9/17, 11/5)	Polk	3

Presidential Campaign Events by Congressional District in Iowa in 2012



In summary, presidential candidates—advised by the nation's most astute political strategists—hew closely to population in allocating campaign events. The reason is simple. When every vote is equal and the winner is the candidate receiving the most popular votes, every vote (big city, rural, etc.) is equally important.

How a Nationwide Presidential Campaign Would Be Run

In a nationwide campaign, candidates would campaign nationwide in the same way as they do today *inside* battleground states—that is, *they would allocate their campaigning based on population*. If you divide the country's population (309,785,186) by the number of 2016 general-election campaign events (399), you get 776,404. The table below distributes 399 campaign events among the states by dividing each state's population by 776,404. The table shows that candidates would campaign in *all 50 states* (whereas they campaign in only a relatively few battleground states under the current state-by-state winner-take-all method of awarding electoral votes).

State	Population 2010	Campaign events based on population	Actual 2016 campaign events
Alabama	4,802,982	6	
Alaska	721,523	1	
Arizona	6,412,700	8	10
Arkansas	2,926,229	4	
California	37,341,989	48	1
Colorado	5,044,930	6	19
Connecticut	3,581,628	5	1
Delaware	900,877	1	
D.C.	601,723	1	
Florida	18,900,773	24	71
Georgia	9,727,566	13	3
Hawaii	1,366,862	2	
Idaho	1,573,499	2	
Illinois	12,864,380	17	1
Indiana	6,501,582	8	2
Iowa	3,053,787	4	21
Kansas	2,863,813	4	
Kentucky	4,350,606	6	
Louisiana	4,553,962	6	
Maine	1,333,074	2	3
Maryland	5,789,929	7	
Massachusetts	6,559,644	8	
Michigan	9,911,626	13	22
Minnesota	5,314,879	7	2
Mississippi	2,978,240	4	1
Missouri	6,011,478	8	2
Montana	994,416	1	
Nebraska	1,831,825	2	2
Nevada	2,709,432	3	17
New Hampshire	1,321,445	2	21
New Jersey	8,807,501	11	
New Mexico	2,067,273	3	3
New York	19,421,055	25	
North Carolina	9,565,781	12	55
North Dakota	675,905	1	
Ohio	11,568,495	15	48
Oklahoma	3,764,882	5	
Oregon	3,848,606	5	
Pennsylvania	12,734,905	16	54
Rhode Island	1,055,247	1	
South Carolina	4,645,975	6	
South Dakota	819,761	1	
Tennessee	6,375,431	8	
Texas	25,268,418	33	1
Utah	2,770,765	4	1
Vermont	630,337	1	
Virginia	8,037,736	10	23
Washington	6,753,369	9	1
West Virginia	1,859,815	2	
Wisconsin	5,698,230	7	14
Wyoming	568,300	1	
Total	309,785,186	399	399

Small States Are Ignored Under Current Winner-Take-All Rule

The states are arranged according to their number of electoral votes.

Electoral votes	State	2012 events	2016 events
3	Alaska		
3	Delaware		
3	District of Columbia		
3	Montana		
3	North Dakota		
3	South Dakota		
3	Vermont		
3	Wyoming		
4	New Hampshire	13	21
4	Maine		3
4	Hawaii		
4	Idaho		
4	Rhode Island		
5	New Mexico		3
5	Nebraska		2
5	West Virginia		
6	Iowa	27	21
6	Nevada	13	17
6	Mississippi		1
6	Utah		1
6	Arkansas		
6	Kansas		
7	Connecticut		1
7	Oklahoma		
7	Oregon		
8	Kentucky		
8	Louisiana		
9	Colorado	23	19
9	Alabama		
9	South Carolina		
10	Wisconsin	18	14
10	Minnesota	1	2
10	Missouri		2
10	Maryland		
11	Arizona		10
11	Indiana		2
11	Massachusetts		
11	Tennessee		
12	Washington		1
13	Virginia	36	23
14	New Jersey		
15	North Carolina	3	55
16	Michigan	1	22
16	Georgia		3
18	Ohio	73	48
20	Pennsylvania	5	54
20	Illinois		1
29	Florida	40	71
29	New York		
38	Texas		1
55	California		1
538	Total	253	399

● **In 2012, only 1 of the 13 smallest states** (3 or 4 electoral votes) received any of the 253 general-election campaign events, namely the closely divided battleground state of New Hampshire. The small states are ignored not because they are small, but because (except New Hampshire), they are one-party states in presidential elections.

● **In 2012, only 3 of the 25 smallest states** (7 or fewer electoral votes) received any of the general-election campaign events. The 3 states were the closely divided battleground states of New Hampshire, Iowa, and Nevada. Note that 80% of the general-election campaign events were focused on only 9 closely divided battleground states—mostly larger states. In fact, the winner-take-all method of awarding electoral votes shifts power from small states and medium-sized states to *bigger* states.

● **In 2016, only 2 of the 13 smallest states** (3 or 4 electoral votes) received any of the 399 general-election campaign events. New Hampshire received 21 because it was a closely divided battleground state. Maine (which awards electoral votes by congressional district) received 3 campaign events because its 2nd congressional district was closely divided (and, indeed, Trump carried it). All the other small states were ignored.

● **In 2016, only 4 of the 25 smallest states** (7 or fewer electoral votes) received any general-election campaign events. New Hampshire, Iowa, and Nevada received attention because they were closely divided battleground states. As previously mentioned, Maine received some attention because its 2nd congressional district was closely divided.

Rural States are Disadvantaged under the Current State-By-State Winner-Take-All Method of Awarding Electoral Votes

Political influence in the Electoral College is based on whether the state is a closely divided battleground state. The current state-by-state winner-take-all method of awarding electoral votes does not enhance the influence of rural states, because most rural states are not battleground states.

The 10 most rural states are:

- Vermont (60.61% rural),
- Maine (57.86% rural),
- West Virginia (53.75% rural),
- Mississippi (50.20% rural),
- South Dakota (47.14% rural),
- Arkansas (46.10% rural),
- Montana (44.69% rural),
- North Dakota (44.68% rural),
- Alabama (43.74% rural), and
- Kentucky (43.13% rural).

None of the 10 most rural states is a closely divided battleground state.

Column 2 of the table on the next page shows, for each state, the rural population (using the 2000 definition found in the *Statistical Abstract of the United States*). Column 3 shows the state's total population. Column 4 shows the rural percentage (column 2 divided by column 3). Column 5 shows the rural "index" (obtained by dividing the state's rural percentage by the overall national rural percentage of 20.11%). An index above 100 indicates that the state is more rural than the nation as a whole, whereas an index below 100 indicates that the state is less rural. Thirty-three states have an index above 100 (meaning that more than 20.11% of their population is rural), whereas 18 states have an index below 100 (that is, they are less rural than the nation as a whole).

Rural population of the various states

State	Rural population	Total population	Rural percent	Rural index
Vermont	376,379	621,000	60.61%	301
Maine	762,045	1,317,000	57.86%	288
West Virginia	975,564	1,815,000	53.75%	267
Mississippi	1,457,307	2,903,000	50.20%	250
South Dakota	363,417	771,000	47.14%	234
Arkansas	1,269,221	2,753,000	46.10%	229
Montana	414,317	927,000	44.69%	222
North Dakota	283,242	634,000	44.68%	222
Alabama	1,981,427	4,530,000	43.74%	218
Kentucky	1,787,969	4,146,000	43.13%	214
New Hampshire	503,451	1,300,000	38.73%	193
Iowa	1,138,892	2,954,000	38.55%	192
South Carolina	1,584,888	4,198,000	37.75%	188
North Carolina	3,199,831	8,541,000	37.46%	186
Tennessee	2,069,265	5,901,000	35.07%	174
Wyoming	172,438	507,000	34.01%	169
Oklahoma	1,196,091	3,524,000	33.94%	169
Alaska	215,675	655,000	32.93%	164
Idaho	434,456	1,393,000	31.19%	155
Wisconsin	1,700,032	5,509,000	30.86%	153
Missouri	1,711,769	5,755,000	29.74%	148
Nebraska	517,538	1,747,000	29.62%	147
Indiana	1,776,474	6,238,000	28.48%	142
Kansas	767,749	2,736,000	28.06%	140
Minnesota	1,429,420	5,101,000	28.02%	139
Louisiana	1,223,311	4,516,000	27.09%	135
Georgia	2,322,290	8,829,000	26.30%	131
Virginia	1,908,560	7,460,000	25.58%	127
Michigan	2,518,987	10,113,000	24.91%	124
New Mexico	455,545	1,903,000	23.94%	119
Pennsylvania	2,816,953	12,406,000	22.71%	113
Ohio	2,570,811	11,459,000	22.43%	112
Oregon	727,255	3,595,000	20.23%	101
Delaware	155,842	830,000	18.78%	93
Washington	1,063,015	6,204,000	17.13%	85
Texas	3,647,539	22,490,000	16.22%	81
Colorado	668,076	4,601,000	14.52%	72
Maryland	737,818	5,558,000	13.27%	66
New York	2,373,875	19,227,000	12.35%	61
Connecticut	417,506	3,504,000	11.92%	59
Illinois	1,509,773	12,714,000	11.87%	59
Utah	262,825	2,389,000	11.00%	55
Arizona	607,097	5,744,000	10.57%	53
Florida	1,712,358	17,397,000	9.84%	49
Rhode Island	95,173	1,081,000	8.80%	44
Massachusetts	547,730	6,417,000	8.54%	42
Hawaii	103,312	1,263,000	8.18%	41
Nevada	169,611	2,335,000	7.26%	36
New Jersey	475,263	8,699,000	5.46%	27
California	1,881,985	35,894,000	5.24%	26
D.C.	0	554,000	0.00%	0
Total	59,061,367	293,658,000	20.11%	100